Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 HA-05 IO-13 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 /059 W

-----040971 181122Z /14-S

O 181034Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7089
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

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JERUSALEM FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1 TAGS: PGOV, CY

SUBJECT: CYPRUS MISSING PERSONS

REF: (A) ANKARA 0312, (B) NICOSIA 0123, (C) 77 NICOSIA 3352, (D) 77 ANKARA 8784

1. WE HAVE COME SO FAR ON FORMATION OF A MIXED COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CYPRUS MISSING PERSONS THAT I WOULD OPPOSE ABANDONING OUR EFFORTS JUST SHORT OF THE GOAL BECAUSE TURKISH MFA OFFICIALS ARE RELUCTANT TO ACTIVATE GOT MACHINERY AGAIN ON A COMPLEX ISSUE THAT NOW SEEMS TO THEM NARROW BY CONTRAST WITH ECEVIT'S BROADER PLANS. WE HAVE THE GENERAL GRATIFICATION THAT ECEVIT HAS DECIDED TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE ON THE CORE ISSUES OF TERRITORY AND CONSTITUTION. HOWEVER, WE THINK IT UNWISE TO COUNT ON A BREAKTHROUGH GIVEN THE FACTS THAT ECEVIT HIMSELF SAYS HE CANNOT GO VERY FAR AND GREEKS HERE AND ON THE MAINLAND, IN AN EFFORT TO SUSTAIN THE EMBARGO, ARE CONFIDENTIAL

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COORDINATING THEIR STRATEGIES TO DENOUNCE WHAT IS EVENTUALLY PRESENTED.

2. MEANWHILE, THE MISSING PERSONS ISSUE WILL REMAIN A FUNDAMENTAL PREOCCUPATION OF GREEK CYPRIOTS, AS WALDHEIM FOUND OUT LAST WEEKEND, AND A PROPAGANDA CUDGEL WITH WHICH TO BEAT TURKS. THE NEXT OCCASION

GREEKS WILL HAVE TO USE THIS CUDGEL, IN ABSENCE OF MISSING PERSONS AGREEMENT, IS UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION MEETING IN GENEVA BEGINNING FEB 6. EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT IT IS ALWAYS AWKWARD FOR US, AS WELL AS FOR TURKEY, WHEN GOT IS FLAYED ON THIS ISSUE IN INTERNATIONAL FORA, AND US DIPLOMACY LABORS MIGHTILY TO MINIMIZE CONTENTION IN INTERESTS OF PRESERVING ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH THE UNDERLYING NEGOTIATION CAN CONTINUE. THEREBY BRUISING GREEKS.

- 3. FOR THESE REASONS, WE FEEL STRONGLY THAT THE US EFFORT SHOULD BE CONTINUED EVEN IF IT DOES NECESSITATE, AS AMB SPIERS SUGGESTS IT WILL, EXPENDITURE OF SOME HIGH-LEVEL ENERGIES. FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW ON THIS ISSUE, THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO ANKARA LATE THIS WEEK AFFORDS US A MOST VALUABLE OPPORTUNITY. FROM WHAT ECEVIT PRIVATELY TOLD WALDHEIM DURING LATTER'S ANKARA VISIT (PARA 3, REF B), THERE MAY BE MORE ON WHICH TO BUILD THAN MFA IS WILLING TO ACKNOWLEDGE.
- 4. WE HOPE AND THINK THAT AGREEMENT NEED BE ONLY A COUPLE OF SHORT STEPS AWAY. ALTHOUGH GOT IS WARPING THE RECORD AND TRYING TO DISAVOW HIM, DENKTASH AT ONE POINT ACCEPTED TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR MIXED COMMITTEE IN WP 3, REV 4, AS SUPPLEMTED BY UNDERSTANDINGS WITH US, ALBEIT WITH SOME CONDITIONS. HE CONFIDENTIAL

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SAYS HE STILL REQUIRES (A) ASSURANCE OF ECEVIT GOVT SUPPORT, AND (B) ASSURANCE FROM GOT AND ICRC AS TO LATTER'S CUSTOMARY PROCEDURES ON DECISION-MAKING, INCLUDING A DOCUMENT. GIVING HIM WHAT HE SAYS HE NEEDS ON (A) WOULD SEEM TO ENTAIL ONLY A MINOR ACT OF WILL ON PART OF GOT. SATISFYING HIM ON (B) SHOULD BE POSSIBLE BY GOT REASSURANCE ON "PROCES VERBAL" RESULTING FROM CONVERSATION OF TURKISH AMBASSADOR YAVUZALP WITH ICRC IN GENEVA (PARA 4, REF C), PLUS ICRC LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE AS PRESENTLY DRAFTED OR VERY SLIGHTLY STRENGTHENED (CONSTITUTING THE DOCUMENT).

5. WE DO NOT ACCEPT GOT MFA ASSERTION THAT US SHOULD HAVE STOPPED WITH WP 3, REV 3, AND THAT US MOVED AWAY FROM IT, AFTER GOT HAD AGREED TO IT, "BY ACCEPTING NEW GREEK CYPRIOT REQUIREMENTS." AS THE EXHAUSTIVE NEGOTIATING RECORD SHOWS, THE FACTS ARE THAT REV 3 HAD BALANCE BUT CONTAINED ELEMENTS THAT COULD HAVE CAUSED TROUBLE LATER. REV 4, NEGOTIATED WITH BOTH PARTIES AT GREAT LENGTH, SOUGHT TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS, BRIDGE THE FUNDAMENTAL GAPS IN THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES, AND CREATE A NEW BALANCE.

6. THE REV 3 TO REV 4 SEQUENCE IS CHARACTERISTIC OF THIS NEGOTIATION WHICH HAS SEESAWED COUNTLESS TIMES WITH OBJECTIONS/NEW SUGGESTIONS FROM NOW ONE SIDE AND NOW THE OTHER, WITH US CONSTANTLY MODIFYING AND SEEKG IMPROVEMENT FROM A STRICTLY IMPARTIAL STANCE. REV 3, THE GOT MFA SHOULD RECALL, WAS ESSENTIALLY AN INCORPORATION OF GOT-PROPOSED CHANGES TO AN EARLIER USUN DRAFT (SEE 77 USUN 4789). THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT THERE WAS A SPECIFIC STATEMENT OF GOT APPROVAL OF REV 3, NEVERTHELESS, UNTIL ELEKDAG'S CONVERSATION WITH AMB SPIERS ON DEC 2 (REF D), BY WHICH TIME REV 4 HAD ALREADY BEEN CIRCULATED IN NEW YORK.

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7. IN SHORT, WE HOPE SOMETHIOG CAN BE SAID TO GOT DURING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT. IT NEED NOT BE VERY MUCH OR IN DETAIL. IF ECEVIT CAN BE BROUGHT TO REITERATE THE STATEMENT HE EVIDENTLY MADE TO WALDHEIM AND SAY THAT HE WILL PASS HIS VIEW DOWN THE LINE WITHIN GOT AND TO DENKTASH, WE CAN PICK UP THE NEGOTIATION HERE WITH GREATLY IMPROVED CHANCES OF SUCCESS.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 01 jan 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: MISSING PERSONS

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 18 jan 1978 Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960 Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED

Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014 Disposition Event: Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978NICOSI00148
Document Source: ID: 02

Document Unique ID: 00

Drafter: n/a Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: X1

Errors: N/A **Expiration:**

Film Number: D780026-0661

Format: TEL From: NICOSIA

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780150/aaaabpwd.tel

Line Count: 144 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 1e053ce2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Office: ACTION EUR

Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a

Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 ANKARA 312, 78 NICOSIA 123, 77 NICOSIA 3352, 77 ANKARA 8784

Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags:

Review Date: 28 apr 2005 Review Event: Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:**

Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 3755678 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: CYPRUS MISSING PERSONS

TAGS: PGOV, CY To: STATE Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/1e053ce2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014